/115 cont./

101 the language of the Waika, Shidishana, or Shamatairi, therefore the neighboring Indians as well.

Thus the term "Yanoama" refers to the cultural and linguistic identity; it does not have the least political aspect. There is no tribe of the Yanoama, nor is there any tribe of the Waika, the Shidishana, or the Shamatairi. At most one can speak of the "people"; but one must bear in mind that there is no institution, no office, that is representative of this people. Also the cognizance of this term in the thinking of the natives /116/ remains general and therefore inevitably vague, parallel to the small amount of geographical knowledge, which is limited to what they themselves have traversed, that is, as a rule, to the circle of the nearest villages, which are about one to two days' journey away from one's own.
101 Geopolitical thought, which would find expression in a more
621 extensive political organization, is unknown to the Yanoama; their conceptual world revolves around the village.

The village is the unit in which one thinks and after which one names himself: when questioned a Waika will never answer that he is a Waika or a Yanoama, but rather will give his village name, say, "Bolitaotedi," whereby "tedi" (village), like the Spanish "pueblo," refers less to the settlement and more to the
829 people who live in it. It seems obvious that one is a Waika, for the slight contact with civilization has not yet led in their thinking to distinguishing their own culture from that of foreigners; the foreigner has remained an individual guest with peculiar habits and has not yet become the representative of a large, strange
101 world. It is not obvious, however, to which village one belongs;
621 village membership is the decisive political and sociological characteristic of the individual.

361 Externally the village is a clearing in the virgin forest, usually oval in ground plan, with a large diameter from 30 to 100 meters;
[62] the houses line the edge of this clearing. On the average a village is inhabited by about 100 persons. The villages of the Shamatairi south of the Orinoco, however, are much larger; according to our

/116 cont./

361 scanty knowledge, their population varies between 200 and 300.
161 Whereas there in the unexplored south organizational forms for
[621] larger numbers of people have evidently developed, the socio-
logical system of the Waika is organized for only the above-named
figure of a hundred village inhabitants; a surplus of births is
answered by village partition.

628 The politically independent villages are partners in war and
peace and for trading and visiting, and the momentary, frequently
changing relationships of the villages to one another give the
political situation in Waika territory its stamp. Let us first look
721 at the hostile relationships. Affairs involving women are for the
[583] most part the cause of war; if a wife is sought in other villages,
and if the offer is turned down, one resorts to abducting a woman.
Once there has been bloodshed in quarrels originating from this,
the war is self-perpetuating; the original cause has not been for-
gotten, to be sure, but because of its slight intensity in the con-
ceptual world it in no way suffices as a motive for the continuation
726 of the war. Rather, what does not permit breaking the chain of
attacks repeated at intervals of a few months, in which the enemy
men are killed, but the women abducted, /117/ is ideas and analogous
728 to blood revenge. Concluding peace is possible only when there has
been no bloodshed for a long period of time, and hostile relations
628 often last for generations. Thus Waika country is covered with a
network of hostile relationships of varying degrees, and, picking
a village at random, one can distinguish a series of villages that
are friendly, benevolently indifferent, neutral, sympathetic with
[726] the enemy, and, finally, completely hostile. For no two villages,
however, is this series completely identical; there are no ex-
tensive alliances; war is an affair of the individual village, and a
friendly village is aided only if there are personal reasons for
hostility. No Waika village is without an enemy, and because
of the many crisscrossings of the degrees of relationships the
political situation is extremely complicated. We therefore see
that even on the broadest social plane -- that of the people as
a cultural and linguistic whole -- there is a very pronounced

/118 cont./

628 are not feasible. The villages remain /119/ dependent on one
182 another in economic, sociological, and political respects, in connection with which the frequent change of partners guarantees the multiplicity of the contacts. Politically independent, with equal rights, and not anchored in any superordinate organization, the villages are the knots in a tightly woven network of active mutual relationships, in part of a positive kind, in part negative; the tension inherent in these relationships represents, on the one hand, the dynamic factor and, on the other hand, the stabilizing factor in the social life of the Waika.

• 621 Up to now I have used the term village as though it represented a stable unit; if we look at its internal structure, however, it turns out that this local body, the settlement community, very tightly united in itself, again is made up of individual groups which are distinguished from one another on certain occasions.
621 In many cases the festivals of human beings rather than their daily
796 life offer the opportunity to recognize the nature of their social
182 grouping; during festive occasions the community itself is represented and confirms this representation in ceremonial. Among
621 the Waika the ceremonial gift-exchange was the key to under-
431 standing the village structure. That is, after a successful large-scale hunt, in which the men of almost every house take part, it is customary to exchange baskets of roasted meat and a few bananas within the village. This exchange takes place, however, not between the individual houses, but between groups of houses; no baskets of meat are exchanged within the same group of houses, but rather only to and from the houses of the other groups. The village investigated by us was divided, according to the paths of exchange, into three groups of houses, which -- perhaps by chance -- were arranged in strips: on both sides of the oval several houses were combined in a group, and the two houses opposite each other in the middle likewise did not exchange gifts.
621 Now the next step must be to look at the reflection of the
611 sociologically inadequate term "group of houses" on the kinship level: the members of the individual groups of houses are to be characterized, according to their kinship relations, as bilateral and bilocal groups of families.

/119 cont./
000 and bilocal groups of families. The group of families -- the
621 multiplicity of relationships permits no other designation --
431 is therefore the next smaller constituent element of the village unit; to be sure, the ceremonial gift-exchange emphasizes the subdivision of the village, in that it underlines the affiliation of the partner to one of the two other groups of families, but, on the other hand, also joins the three groups of families as common inhabitants of the same village.

It might now seem that the group of families, which appears in the gift-exchange as a functional unit, is only a chance conglomeration of nuclear families and thus of minor importance.
621 It comes into operation, however, on another decisive occasion,
166 namely, in connection with /120/ the migratory movements, which I shall sketch for you in a few words. The inhabitants of a
[361] village never remain longer than about three to four weeks in their
[342] main village, that clearing in the virgin forest with relatively permanently built houses; then they leave home for a period at least equally long, but seldom farther away than one to two days of travel, and build themselves in a favorable spot in the forest a row of small, triangular huts which are just large enough to provide room for a nuclear family, i.e., the parents and their unmarried children. The new place is chosen according to the
262 possibilities that it offers for gathering forest fruits and for hunting;
245 nevertheless economic reasons are not actually the cause for this
194 migration, for even during this period they continue to live from
166 the very fruitful banana planting near the main village. About every ten days a group of men go and fetch additional supplies of bananas, which the Waika today use for about 90 per cent
[222] of their diet. To be sure, during this forest period they live on
[224] gathered fruits and by hunting more than they do in the main village, and we shall therefore hardly go wrong in assuming that there are involved in these short-term forest sojourns traditionally preserved reminiscences of the era of pure hunting for wild food on the part of the Waika, undoubtedly still not very far in the past.

/120 cont./

621 166 241 These periodically recurring radial movements from a fixed center (the village with its planting) do not affect, in sociological respects, the substance of the village: normally the whole village migrates. In this respect, however, it is different with regard to a second type of village movement, which is not characterized by the going back and forth of the short forest-sojourns, but rather takes place over longer periods of time and only in one direction. The Waika live only about five years from one planting and then move to a new one laid out beforehand, which is usually about a day's journey away. Practically every village known to us has an old and a new planting, for since the chonta palm (Guilielma gasipaes), still cultivated today and useful in many ways, has a different life span than the various types of bananas, overlapping in the utilization of the plantings cannot be [173] avoided. If a newly established planting is bearing enough bananas, the whole village is moved to the new planting; the names and the site of earlier plantings are remembered exactly, however, so that from this the history of each individual village, i.e., its shifting in Waika territory, and consequently the history of the Waika themselves in their territorial aspect, can be reconstructed 621 for two to three generations. Such a move to a new place, however, 166 is also the occasion for changes in the composition of the 161 village, for a split as a rule, for in the meantime, because of the 173 enormous /121/ surplus of births, which the Waika have to register today, the village has grown far beyond the limit of the number of persons that can be governed well under their institution-poor system. The partition of the village is not done at discretion, but exactly along the lines of separation indicated by the above- [431] mentioned composition by groups of families. One or more groups of families are the bearers of the new villages, and the memory [182] of the way the new village was founded by the union of several groups of families is ceremonially represented as shown, in the gift-exchange.

/121 cont./

166 Therefore two types of nomadism are superimposed on each
221 other in the migratory movements of the Waika: the nomadism
241 of the very active hunting for wild food, which is represented today
182 as a radial movement from an agricultural central-point, stamps the annual cycle, whereas the agricultural village-move, which follows the fields cleared by burning, occurs in a cycle of a few years and has a greater spatial range than the wild-food forays. To express it in a different manner: a wild-food nomadism more restricted spatially and temporally fills out the periods of the more extended agricultural migrations. Even at the ends of these periods, when both cycles overlap, they are felt by the Waika to be quite different matters and not mutually substitutable: after they have worked for a time in the new, scarcely begun planting, and the external reasons for a forest sojourn (such as change of living place and more favorable possibilities for gathering and hunting) are assuredly present, they still move off once more in the traditional manner to another place in the forest -- the laying out of a new plantation, even with the great similarity of external circumstances, is basically different from the forest life of hunting for wild food and in no way a substitute for it.

162 The short sojourns in the forest are, as was said, usually
● 621 made by the whole village, whereas with the laying out of new
182 plantings the group of families comes into the foreground as the
174 working unit. One might conclude from this fact that the formation and the sociological importance of the groups of families is connected with the introduction of agriculture. I should like to make the opposite conclusion, however, that merely the old wild-food settlement-unit has maintained itself in these groups of families in the present larger agricultural village-society. The relationship of the groups of families to hunting for wild food is clear from the fact that the gift-exchange carried on by the groups of families is quite predominantly an exchange of meat, to which a few roasted bananas are added, and can only take place after a hunt.

105 Thus the sociological findings regarding the larger social
621 units of the Yanoama reflect the picture of the other cultural
182

/121 cont./

105 realms of this people: /122/ elements related to hunting for wild
● 621 food, such as the group of families connected by kinship in various
182 ways, for which, in accordance with its structure, one could probably use "roving horde" or similar terms, have held their ground and actively maintained themselves against those forms connected with agriculture and sedentariness, in our case the permanent village society. The Waika are now just at the point where the high economic preponderence of cultivated plants is beginning to make corresponding changes in the noneconomic cultural spheres.

/179 cont./

619 Each subtribe is composed of a certain number of local
[624] [596] groups which form a band of extended families and provide the peculiar characteristics of the group to which they belong, thus enriching the cultural patrimony of the subtribe. In this way we know the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, and Samatari as subtribes of the Yanoama, while the Pakidai and Surara appear to represent two local groups of the Samatari or of a subtribe whose name we do not know.

As local groups of the Sanemá we can mention the: Nabadub of the Ventuari, the Pubmatari of the Caranakuni, the Taclaudub in the region of the source of the Caura, and others whom we shall mention in the demographic section.

From what has been published up to the present regarding
[184] [194] the Yanoama subtribes, we can gather that there exist among them more or less marked cultural differences, but it is also easy to demonstrate that these differences merely represent variants of one and the same cultural pattern, in spite of the fact that these divergences would correspond basically to a separation between these subtribes which would vary between 600 years as a minimum and 3,500 years as a maximum.

127 In order to facilitate the study of the distribution of the
128 Yanoama subtribes, we have put together the over-all map /see pp. 40-43/ which illustrates the present work. The data referring to the Surara and Pakidai settlements have been taken from the study by Becher (1960), who located them between the Demini and Aracá rivers in Brazil. The location of the Samatari of Brazil corresponds to the map published by Seitz (1960), and that of the Samatari of Venezuela to one drawn up by the Malariología, placed between the Waica on the upper Orinoco across from the mouth of the tributary Mavaca. From this latter source we have also taken the anthropogeographic data on the Waica and on the Sanemá of the Padamo. The reference map has been drawn up according to
[799] empirical data from the personnel of the Malariología, which were collected with the collaboration of the missionaries of this zone, above all, with that of Mr. James Barker of the New Tribes Mission, who has close contact with the Indians of this region.

/209 cont./

596 itself to an arrangement of this sort. In their seminomadic state
591 there do not seem to be any sufficiently decisive economic factors
[182] to require a unilocal residence rule, which in a way would hinder a young man, after his marriage, from remaining in the group of his family of orientation or from leaving in order to found his family of procreation matrilocally, according to the particular
591 circumstances. But what we are sure of is that the irregularities
596 observed are precisely a result of the economic and technologi-
197 cal changes which the Sanemá of the regions /210/ adjacent to
241 the Makiritare are undergoing via the process of acculturation. The cultivation of the land, although still rudimentary, and the possibility of augmenting their properties have brought about as a natural consequence, not only greater stability and possibly a considerable demographic increase, but also the impetus which disrupts the balanced equilibrium present in the custom of choosing the postnuptial residence which is fundamental for the bilocal extended family (cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 35). So it is that one of the factors which has most contributed to bringing about disequilibrium among the Sanemá was the adoption of the Caribe agricultural system. The postmatrimonial moving from one local group to another was not of any particular importance in a nomadic society, but nowadays it presents certain difficulties not even suspected previously, for a man now has to leave his cultivated fields if he is to go with his wife. We are sure that the tendencies in the direction of the unilocal custom have their
[601] roots precisely in this economic change. Finally, the existence of the bilocal extended family among the Yanoama is in complete accord with the Hawaiian type of social organization which we are describing as typical for this tribe.

594 Without knowing a Sanemá nuclear family intimately, it is
621 difficult to group with certainty the members of a local group solely on the basis of their family ties, particularly in a community in which polygamy, the sororate, the levirate, and a Hawaiian kinship system are practiced. There are occasions, however, on which the members of a nuclear family gather together: to eat, to sleep, etc., and, in spite of our not having full knowledge of Sanemá society, we can, with all this, say that the nuclear

/210 cont./

594 family exists as a definite cell in that tribe, assuming all the
● 621 functions and all the specific responsibilities of that social entity. Thus, there exists the formal arrangement of marriage, which sanctions sexual contact between the spouses and guarantees procreation. There exists economic co-operation among the members of the nuclear family, which organizes work and apportions the necessary subsistance and, in this way, injects persistence in the family's living together. There are [86] practically no tasks which exceed the capacity of the nuclear family and the children learn the way of life directly from their parents and elders.

594 The most visible center of the nuclear family is the fire
354 around which they eat and sleep. From here they go out to their work and, upon their return, reassemble at the fireside. After a long trip, the man takes the small sticks from his quiver and makes a fire; there is a new fire; a new home is established.

596 Each individual Sanemá belongs also to an extended family
621 made up according to the residence rules already explained. The local group /211/ consists of two or more of these extended families of the same bilateral kinsfolk and form /sic/ a band. This local group or band is the largest social unit to which [619] a Sanemá belongs. The terms "subtribe" and "tribe" which we use are artificial terms lacking in real meaning for the Sanemá. But the band is definitely a familiar concept for him, one which he knows very well and with which he identifies. The band guarantees economic and social stability, and its well-being benefits the individual member, who feels tied to it by a multitude of family ties.

621 Each local group has innumerable enemies, while the circle
628 of friends is extremely small. Contact between all of one group with a neighboring group is rare, but does sometimes occur. They sometimes get together for commercial reasons or at funeral ceremonies, but their friendship is weak and unstable.

601 We were unable, for lack of an informant, to obtain a list of
582 kinship terms. Our impression is that a Hawaiian system is involved.
600 One may not marry a female cross or parallel cousin. There are

/214 cont./

554 him to commit a similar excess. In their traditional duels no one dares to fight with the guapo, for they are afraid that in the heat of the encounter he may lose control of himself and kill
• [621] his adversary. Apparently there is only one guapo in each local group, and, from what can be seen, he may have the social mission to eliminate the weak elements in the group, in spite
554 of his not realizing that that is his function. It was explained to us,
769 for example, that on occasion the neighboring group is invited to
628 the feast of the dead, when, the ashes reduced to fine powder,
[266] they ingest those of their dead companions. This invitation is extended to the enemy group in particular if it is known with certainty that among the dead whose ashes they are about to take there is one who died through the magical intervention of a member of the enemy band. During the ceremony the sablí shaman, before opening the gourd which contains the ashes, points out to the guapo of his group the probable murderer in the opposite band, who, in order to avoid complications, is always the weakest man in the group. The feast proceeds as though nothing had happened, but the enemies who lost the man during the feast invite their adversaries to celebrate the feast of their dead also.

554 Old people, for their part, do not seem to be very safe be-
[788] fore this element, /215/ and some Sanemá of the Ventuari ex-
[574] plained that the guapo must treat visitors in this way in order to prove his courage. It would be interesting to know in greater detail the function of the Sanemá guapo and to find out whether these are isolated cases or a traditional phenomenon.

842 The Sanemá believe that the child exists in the father,
162 who passes it to the mother so that it may grow and be born. In the Sanemá communities which we visited on our expedition
855 we were surprised at the small number of children to be found in the settlement. The parents showed much affection for their children, and when these latter have grown somewhat they participate, to the degree that their age and strength allow, in all the activities of the adults.

881 It seems that they are acquainted with rites indicatory of
ooo the onset of puberty for a boy or girl. The first menstrual period

/221 cont./

793 Since the Sanemá people cannot exist in good conditions
[776 without the continued and intimate contact with the house of
• 621] Omao, sáiyawan, the priest makes himself indispensable in the grouping of a band, whose very existence is perpetuated in large part by the quality of the priest.

The hɛ̨wīawán of the Sanemá devotes himself exclusively to filling his high office. For this reason he cannot work, or hunt, or fish, etc. like a common man, and he lives on the benefactions given to him by the community as compensation for the services which he renders to it.

/222/ In his frequent flights between the earth and heaven he commonly kills a vulture or sparrow hawk and that explains why he often returns with his mouth covered with blood, bringing some cashew birds and, on certain limited occasions, even a human leg, trophies which he obtained as he killed the enemy (23).

23. It is likely that all this represents the ideal habitus rather than the real one of the priest.

793 Before discussing the nature of the power of the hɛ̨wīawán,
773 we shall first narrate the genesis of the first hɛ̨wīawán of the Sanemá, which will explain to us how it comes about that the hɛ̨wīawán is able to fly and why he always goes about raised some 30 centimeters from the ground when he is on the earth.

There was a man who one day went into the forest to hunt. There he was met by a Great Jaguar, omaukõhe, who is a gigantic jaguar, master of the other felines, and who goes about in an upright position like a man. The jaguar caught the man and ate all his flesh, leaving the skeleton picked clean but without breaking a single bone. The man remained alive and asked the Great Jaguar to give him other flesh. The Jaguar gave him other flesh, but told him that henceforth he would be hɛ̨wī (bat).
[825] And from that time on the man hɛ̨wīawán is also a bat. He is a very timid man; children love him very much, because he never gets angry and does not scold. When he is in the company of men, he spends his time singing songs, wásámo songs, which

BeLayrac et al. D.E-S (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Carib and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shiriană" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Siriono*" with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Siriono (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Siriono*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanumá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanumá of the Erebato and from the

5 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 455-458.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 28.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

/468 cont./

Traveling and Transportation

487 They make almost all their trips on foot by paths and trails. Bridges are built over the largest rivers. Other rivers are waded or crossed on tree trunks.

/469/ New paths are marked by breaking branches in passing. On old roads they indicate the path or paths which have not been taken, leaving some object or a little pile of leaves at the entrance of same. A stick may be tied to an abandoned dwelling to indicate in what direction the former occupant has moved. 621 166 (A settlement may split up into groups when it abandons the site in the area of the "conuco," and therefore this sign does not necessarily mean that the entire settlement has gone off in that direction.)

166 628 The Guaika /Waica/ travel frequently, but generally not very far. The nearest settlement -- perhaps a day away -- is usually as far as they go. The settlement beyond this might be an enemy settlement, or at least not very friendly. Even neighboring settlements have such bad relations with one another that 628 they rarely visit among themselves. But the settlements which 574 are on friendly terms visit each other very frequently, and, when both live in the areas of the conucos, visitors come and go between them every few days.

574 The reasons for visiting are principally to see friends or to stay until their own "conuco" (which might be in a period of little production) begins to produce again.

Standards of Living

513 [349] The Guaika /Waica/ consider it essential to sleep every night under a roof. Thus, they always build some sort of shelter.

[354] A fire is also essential. A Guaika will not sleep without a fire at night. He needs it to obtain heat and to protect himself from animals, and with the fire he feels safer from evil spirits.

/479/

736 Orphans in general are cared for by relatives, but when they do not have any, they are normally adopted. I have never known of any who was left in helplessness.

The Community

•621 [62] The population of a seat or settlement varies between 60 and perhaps 120, but most of the settlements have around 100 inhabitants. Smaller groups are afraid to live apart, and there- [578] fore they join together to protect themselves. Larger groups soon split up, owing to internal frictions.

[622] Within the settlement there is generally one or two more influential individuals, who not only direct their own families, but several others. When these groups grow sufficiently, they split up and form their own settlements. These groups are found united in a single settlement out of fear.

621 622 578 The largest and most influential group gives orders in the settlement. The result of this is that any struggle for command will not necessarily be a test of strength between two men, but may easily turn into a struggle between the partisans of each of them. The maximum gravity reached by these contests is generally the "macana fight."

626 Public opinion is a powerful force, and even the men of greater influence have to yield on many occasions to the will of the public.

103 Each settlement usually has two names, the one of the present locality and the name of one of the localities previously occupied.

Sickness and Magic

752 753 Some accidents are attributed to carelessness, but many accidents and all sicknesses are attributed to supernatural causes or spirits.

10: Chagnon SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

621

[For information on Yanoama community structure including data on the community population, tendency to exogamy or endogamy, cohesive and fissive tendencies, socio-political and economic structure and organization, etc., see category 116, Introductory p. ii-Introductory p. iii, pp. 2-14, 23, 33-34, 43-44, 53, 58-61, 64-70, 74-76, 79-85, 88-90, 92, 96-118, 121-137, 140-156, 159-175, 183-199, and 207-215.]

11: Chagnon SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

621

[For intracommunity relations, passim, see category 116, pp. 40-137.]